

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 03117 241051Z

12

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SUBJ: ROMANIAN NATIONAL DAY

1. SUMMARY. NATIONAL DAY FESTIVITIES IN BUCHAREST AUG 23 -- INCLUDING MILITARY-CIVIL PARADE, PALACE HALL FETE, AND DIPLO-MATIC RECEPTION -- WERE GENERALLY ROUTINE. HOWEVER, NUANCES IN KEYNOTE SPEECH AUGUST 22 BY "OLD COMMUNIST" CHIVU STOICA, MILITARY ORDER-OF-DAY PROMULGATED BY DEFMIN IONITA, AND ANNIV-ERSARY SLOGANS ACCENTUATED NATIONALIST OVERTONES SLIGHTLY, REFLECTED GROWTH IN PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S PERSONALITY CULT SINCE LAST YEAR'S HOLIDAY AND EVEN MORE RECENT OCCASIONS, AND MAY HAVE POINTED OBLIQUELY TO ROMANIAN PROBLEMS AT CRIMEAN SUMMIT. END.

2. SLOGANS, SPEECH, ORDER OF DAY, TV, AND PARTY PAPER SCINTEIA REFERRED TO 1944 EVENT AS "THE NATIONAL ANTIFASCIST ARMED UPRISING" RATHER THAN AS (1972) "THE LIBERATION OF ROMANIA FROM UNDER THE FASCIST YOKE". LOCAL SOURCES BELIEVE THIS PHRASE PUT INCREASED EMPHASIS ON RCP'S LONGSTANDING CLAIM THAT IT (NOT KING MICHAEL'S BOURGEOIS POLITICIANS OR THE RED ARMY, RESPECTIVELY) ENGINEERED 1944 "UPRISING" AND LIBERATED ROMANIA. ONE ROMANIAN SOURCE CLAIMED SLOGAN CHANGE WAS PHONED TO PARTY FIRST SECRETARIES AUGUST 17.

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PAGE 02 BUCAR 03117 241051Z

3. SIMILARLY, STOICA'S SPEECH CREDITED SOVIET ARMY WITH ONLY

"CRUSHING BLOWS" INSTEAD OF "DECISIVE VICTORIES" AGAINST WW II FASCIST ARMIES IN CREATING CONDITIONS FAVORABLE FOR A NATIONAL UPRISING. IT ATTRIBUTED TO HOMEGROWN ROMANIAN COMMUNISTS "A DECISIVE CONTRIBUTION" TO ROMANIA'S LIBERATION AND, MORE FULLY THAN IN 1972 SPEECH, DWELLED ON ROMANIAN ARMY'S ROLE ("AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE VICTORY OVER FASCISM") AFTER ROMANIA SWITCHED TO THE ALLIED SIDE. HOMAGE TO ROLE OF SOVIET PEOPLE IN WW II REMAINED NEARLY AS BEFORE, BUT REFERENCE TO "ROMANIAN-SOVIET COMRADESHIP-IN-ARMS" WAS DROPPED.

4. CEAUSESCU'S PERSONALITY-CULT INDICATORS WENT UP COMPARED WITH 1972 ANNIVERSARY AND EVEN SUCH RECENT EVENTS AS MAY DAY. STOICA ADDRESSED HIS KEYNOTE SPEECH TO "BELOVED COMRADE CEAUSESCU" AS WELL AS MERELY TO "ESTEEMED COMRADES" (1972). WHILE SCINTEIA'S SIMILAR AUGUST 23 DESCRIPTION OF CEAUSESCU AS "BELOVED" RATHER THAN "EXPERIENCED" PARTY LEADER WAS OBSERVED EARLIER THIS YEAR, A NEW CULTIST FORMULATION -- "PARTY, CEAUSESCU, ROMANIA" -- APPEARED AMONG BUCHAREST'S POSTED SLOGANS AND CHARTS.

5. STOICA CALLED CEAUSESCU'S CONTRIBUTION TO PARTY STRATEGY AND TACTICS "ESSENTIAL " (RATHER THAN 1972'S "EXCEPTIONAL") AND ADDED THAT "GREAT SUCCESSES" IN "ALL SPHERES OF ECONOMIC-SOCIAL LIFE" WERE "INDISSOLUBLY TIED" TO HIS "DECISIVE ROLE." IN FOREIGN POLICY, CEAUSESCU BECAME "THE PRINCIPLE AUTHOR AND EXPONENT" INSTEAD OF ONE WHO HAS MADE "REMARKABLE THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS" (1972). IN DECLAMATORY ENDINGS OF BOTH STOICA'S SPEECH AND ORDER OF DAY, PARTY SLOGAN BECAME "LONG LIVE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY HEADED BY GENERAL SECRETARY COMRADE CEAUSESCU" IN PLACE OF (1972) "LONG LIVE RCP, TESTED LEADER OF THE PEOPLE, INSPIRER AND ORGANIZER OF OUR VICTORIES" (WITHOUT MENTION OF CEAUSESCU).

6. AT STOICA'S EVERY REFERENCE TO CEAUSESCU'S NAME, AUDIENCE ROSE TO FEET AND BEGAN RHYTHMIC CLAPPING WHILE CHANTING CEAUSESCU SLOGANS. ONE INTERESTING SIDELIGHT WAS THAT FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER CORNELIU MANESCU AROSE RELUCTANTLY WITH PAINED EXPRESSION AND, WHILE CLAPPING PERFUNCTORILY, COULD NOT BRING HIMSELF TO CHANT. AS USUAL, PREMIER MAURER AND, TO SOME EXTENT, SEVERAL OTHER LEADERS, SELDOM JOINED APPLAUSE AND THEN ONLY IN DESULTORY MANNER. CEAUSESCU HIMSELF AT END APPEARED SLIGHTLY DISCOMFITED BY AUDIENCE EXCESSES AND MOTIONED AS IF TO RESTRAIN THEM.

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PAGE 03 BUCAR 03117 241051Z

7. UNLIKE 1972 OCCASION, INTRIGUINGLY, KEYNOTE SPEECH MENTIONED NEITHER PARTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE APPROVAL OF CEAUSESCU'S ACTIVITIES AT PRECEEDING CRIMEAN SUMMIT AND BILATERAL TALK WITH BREZHNEV (ALTHOUGH CEAUSESCU HAD IN FACT RECEIVED EXCOM APPROVAL AUGUST 2) NOR THE EVENTS THEMSELVES. HOWEVER, STOICA NOTED GENERALLY THAT CEAUSESCU'S CONTACTS WITH OTHER COMMUNIST LEADERS HAD A "SPECIAL IMPORTANCE". PERHAPS IN KEEPING WITH EUROPEAN

DETENTE, STOICA DROPPED 1972'S REFERENCE TO WARSAW PACT DEFENSE COLLABORATION AGAINST "IMPERIALIST ATTACK". STOICA PRAISED PROGRESS IN CSCE BUT PREDICTABLY IGNORED MBFR IN LINE WITH KNOWN ROMANIAN DISENCHANTMENT OVER ASPECTS OF LATTER.

8. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH STOICA'S GRADUAL POLITICAL REHABILITATION HAS BEEN EVIDENT, MOST RECENTLY IN PUBLIC SPLASH GIVEN AUGUST 10 AWARD OF "HERO OF ROMANIAN SOCIALIST REPUBTQT" ON HIS 65TH BIRTHDAY (EMBTTEL 2915), HIS SELECTION AS KEYNOTER RAISED EYEBROWS AMONG EMBASSY'S ROMANIAN CONTACTS. HIS RECENT PROMINENCE AFTER YEARS IN POLITICAL WILDERNESS PROBABLY STEMS FROM CEAUSESCU'S CONCERN TO PLAY UP PARTY UNITY, WHILE HIS "OLD GUARD" BACKGROUND AND MALEABILITY IN PURVEYING CURRENT LINE (TO POINT OF ACKNOWLEDGING HIS PAST ERRORS AT BIRTHDAY FETE) MAKES HIM SUITABLE SYMBOL. MARTENS

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